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NATIVE STUDIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This bulletin may be looked upon as one of the first fruits of the increased interest in Native Studies now to be found in South Africa. It has long been a matter for reproach that in the one field of study in which she should have been pre-eminent, South Africa has been sadly neglectful of her ability to contribute to the world's knowledge on anthropological and allied subjects. Until recently it had been left to institutions like the Berlin Orientalisches Seminar, the Hamburg Kolonial Institut, the Paris Ecole des Langues Orientales and the London School of Oriental Languages to have properly organised study and research work of this nature. Now, however, both the University of Cape Town and the University College, Johannesburg (shortly to become the University of the Witwatersrand) have developed a department of Bantu Studies, from which a great deal may be hoped

An article in the *South African Quarterly* (September, 1920) said :—

"It is admitted on all hands that this contact with the white man is rapidly effecting the disintegration of primitive native life. New ideas are being superimposed on old ones in law, customs, and even in language. The work of investigation in this transition stage is, therefore, much more difficult than it was a quarter of a century or even a decade ago. The creation of a band of trained workers in the Ethnology, Psychology and Sociology of the African natives and the Philology of African languages can alone meet the situation. The semi-trained prospector, so to speak, has achieved his task. The work must now be taken over by the scientifically trained inquirer; otherwise many important and interesting facts concerning the mode of life, etc., of the indigenous races of our country will in a few years have passed into oblivion unrecorded. Furthermore, the grammar, the grouping of dialects, and the standardisation for literary use of the leading native tongues in the Union and on its borders can scarcely make any advance under the conditions obtaining; and progress on many points like these is essential for the efficient performance of the white man's function in this country.

"Scientific inquiry into Bantu and Bushman problems must necessarily also throw a good deal of light upon general ethnology, sociology, and the history of human language from the philosophical point of view, and South African scholars can achieve pre-eminence in the world's learning in this field if they choose to do so. It would to our mind be nothing less than a national disgrace if we looked on remissly at this work being done entirely by outsiders."

A considerable amount of information of a very valuable kind has been collected by missionaries, administrators and others. But the inadequacy of their training, which is often none other than that to be obtained from personal application and long residence in native areas, frequently results in the collection of data which need careful co-ordination by trained workers. It is intended that the publication of *Bantu Studies* shall serve as a "clearing agency" for this work.

Many solitary investigators might have been spared years of labour if only they had known that others had worked in the same field, upon the results of whose labours they could have drawn for hardly won information. There are many, too, who have been discouraged by problems which had already been solved by someone working in another field. And last of all, labour is duplicated because the opportunities in this country for the publication of results are rare. It is hoped then that the publication of this bulletin will prove to be an efficient means of communication between research workers, not only in South Africa but also in Europe and America.

The journal has been named *Bantu Studies* with no intention of excluding contributions on Bushman or Hottentot lore. The title was considered, by those who were consulted, as having the merit of brevity, especially when it becomes necessary to quote from any contribution made to it. The degree of its usefulness must, of course, depend upon the extent to which it can rely upon the active co-operation of all who have valuable material to contribute. An appeal must therefore be made to all who are interested to contribute in any one of the following ways --

1. Brief accounts of any research work completed, in hand, or contemplated.
2. Queries on any questions presenting difficulties to any student or worker.
3. Personal paragraphs of general interest, e.g. appointments.

4. Short reviews of new publications.

It will be necessary to bear in mind that the funds available at the present moment will only permit of a journal, to begin with at any rate, of four or six pages. Communications should therefore be as short as the essential subject matter will allow.

Only a limited number of copies of *Bantu Studies* will be printed, and it will be sent only to registered subscribers. Publication will be made when the material available warrants it, although it is hoped that this will prove to be quarterly.

THE EDITOR.

A PLEA FOR MORE METHOD.

BROTHER OTTO, Mariannhill, Natal.

Without method no science. The better working methods are, the surer will be the results, and the methods of our amateur ethnologists are plainly capable of development. Present-day South Africa is in many directions being tackled by scientific research, but its older history, anything preceding the arrival of the Portuguese, requires investigation even more.

In Europe the method of co-operation has been developed during the last few years, e.g., several scholars combined to discover a solution of the problem of Totemism. For, as Professor Dr Ferdinand Birkner wrote in his book *Races and Peoples* : "Even if none of the sciences concerned is able by itself to solve the problem of the place of origin and the history of peoples in prehistoric times, still we are justified in expecting satisfactory results from their combined efforts."

Upon this basis a method may be built up quite naturally. When an essay has been written on any given scientific subject let it be circulated among a small number of scholars ; each will add his remarks or treat the subject independently : and finally, let one of them work up the results into a new article. In this way the quickest results will be attained.

In order to make our working method more accurate we want definite rules, principles and aims. Here is one of them : In research work *errors must be admitted as inevitable*. The advantage of this recognition is that it gives everybody a right to discover and eliminate errors. Somebody might start on Meinhof's "Ur-bantu," which might certainly no longer be accepted uncritically.

The next task is to employ methods by which such errors may be reduced to a minimum and by which they can afterwards be eliminated.

The *Method of Ethnology* of Dr Fritz Graebner, of Cologne, the leading authority on ethnological questions, might be adopted and developed. He uses the term Limit and applies it to (1) subject, (2) space, (3) time. Closely connected with this term Limit is that of the Stratum, and this certainly needs further development. In

favourable spots a kind of boring ought to be undertaken ; that is to say the whole material of such a spot is to be sorted as to its age. This chronological order represents a *vertical section*. Next we must investigate how far each single stratum extends *horizontally*. As far as I remember, the Rev. H. A. Junod has tried to work on these methods for the Tonga. If his success has not been greater the fault does not lie in the method.

Favourable spots for the vertical sections are the entrance-gates and the geographical limits of tribal migrations. In South Africa the Cape forms such a limit for the Bushmen's migration, whilst the ports Tanga, Delagoa Bay, Durban, etc., are the entrance gates, as are also the large estuaries, the Zambezi, etc., in the case of tribal migrations carried out by water from north and east.

Equally favourable for vertical sections are places where once a mass assemblage took place, such as centres of special industries (gold mines) or seats of rulers. In such places more material is found ; and the more material you have to work on, the greater the results.

A further method of eliminating errors is the use of several *independent series of observation*. As errors occur irregularly, it is highly probable that the errors in the different series of observation will not correspond, so that where one series fails, the other will come to the rescue. In any case these independent series would counteract the circular motion of research. Research hardly ever reaches its end by a straight line. In most cases we have to be content to get there by a zig-zag way. But it may happen that the errors occur always on the same side and that so the whole motion becomes a rotary one. In this case the research passes again and again over the same ground without making any progress. This is fatal. It appears as if that had happened to Meinhof. In order to avoid this, archaeology and comparative philology must continually compare results. South Africa possesses enough valuable material in the Bushmen's paintings and stone implements to employ this method of the independent series.

One of the sources of error in comparative philology lies in *differences of writing*. Here a universally recognised *International Alphabet* would be of the greatest help.

In recent times the Anthropos alphabet has had wide recognition. Even Indo-Germanists write their Greek in that alphabet. It could be easily applied for South Africa if it were more suitable for writing

the clicks which occur here. But this could very easily be remedied. In the Anthropos alphabet these clicks are called "Inspiratae" and are described under par. 404-411. Anthropos : Schmidt, 1907.

P. 409. In the various Bushman and Hottentot dialects the clicks are enumerated as follows :--

- (1) Labial inspiratae.
- (2) Dental ,,
- (3) Palatal ,,
- (4) Cerebral ,,
- (5) Guttural ,,
- (6) Lateral ,,

The most absurd suggestions have been made for the writing of these sounds which we need not mention here. Abbé Rousselot following Havet and Ballu suggests using letters written upside down. In printing this would cause no difficulties, and even if as a rule the reversing of letters is not to be recommended, here it might be permissible for symbolical reasons. But difficulties would arise in the cursive form, or else the unreversed letters would have to be used in writing with diacritical marks. Would it not be better to use the same signs for the printing too ? The matter is really very simple. The bases of the Anthropos alphabet are the Roman characters. If the letters are turned upside down, they do not appear to the eye as Roman characters any longer ; therefore the reversing is not desirable. In writing, far too much attention would be required to form the inspiratae distinctly, and in this way reversing would prove a source of error. Besides this, when the Anthropos alphabet was compiled, the fact was overlooked that a reversed *p* becomes a *d*. To get over this difficulty I should like to suggest that all inspiratae should be written with one common sign and distinguished by diacritic marks. The Anthropos alphabet has no *q*, but it has a *b*, which reversed becomes a *q*. The clearest click is guttural and occurs in Xosa, Zulu, Suto, in all of which it is written *q*. If we accept this, a very simple solution would be to let the *q* stand for the guttural click and to add diacritical marks for the others. This would save the expense of making three new types. The dental click as a frequent one might be written *q*. The remaining clicks lie outside Zulu, and the best method of representing them ought to be decided on by Miss Bleek.

At present Bantu studies are too full of contradictions. Nowhere does one stand on firm ground, and that not for lack of material, but chiefly from lack of method.

In order to advance, there is no better means than the above-mentioned circulation of articles among specialists. As far as I can see, this has not been carried far enough amongst European scholars. What now happens is this: Each scholar writes an essay independently, and someone else a summary, so that different views still remain un-coordinated. What I want to suggest is that the essay should go its round and the individual points be gone into. Then it will be seen on which points agreement exists and the research into the doubtful points can be carried further. In this way riper products can be presented to the public and Bantu studies maintained on scholarly lines.

SOME NOTES ON THE INFINITIVE IN BANTU.

The Infinitive makes an interesting study in Comparative Bantu. Many Bantu Grammarians state that "the simplest form of the verb is found in the second person singular of the present imperative, active voice." (Smith's "Handbook of the Ila Language," page 119). This will be undisputed, perhaps, in many individual languages or language groups; but, when one comes to such a language as the Pongwe of the Gaboon, one finds that the Imperative shows phonetic variation from the simple present and the Infinitive. For instance : *Kamba*, to speak, and *gamba*, speak ! *Boulia*, to say, and *woulia*, say ! *Toma*, to send, and *roma*, send ! *Pona*, to look, and *vona*, look ! And then one is faced with the difficulty of trying to decide which is the more primitive form. One might be tempted to consider the Infinitive to have been a later growth from a primitive Imperative, if one believes primitive language to have originated by a process of evolution ; but, considering the pairs above, of the second and third, *bula* and *tuma* are commonly found in both infinitive and imperative in several Central African dialects. On the other hand, however, in the case of the fourth, the common Bantu is *bona*, the "b" of which is soft. In Kaonde and Luba, this appears as *vona*, the initial "v" being a kind of bi-labial "w" (c.f. Spanish—Habana, Havana).

Now in Kongo, taking as examples the two verbs *kwiza* (to come) and *kwenda* (to go), one finds that the Imperatives are *wiza* and *wenda*. The simplest forms in Bantu, of these two verbs, are *iza* (*isa*, *iya*, etc.) and *enda*; and these in Kongo are met with in the Subjunctive Mood, Future Indefinite Tense, and in the Infinitive, when that is shorn of the prefix *ku-* (*kwiza=ku-iza*, *kwenda=ku-enda*). In the majority of Kongo verbs, however, one finds no Infinitive Prefix, and the Infinitive appears to be the same as the Imperative.

Further, in Ngala, Banga, Poto, Kele, and Soko, wherever the Infinitives irregularly end in a vowel other than the vowel -*a*, a similar change of vowel is found in the Imperative. For instance, in Ngala, *lo jinga*, to love, and *jinga*, love ! (also emphatic form, *jinga-ka* !); *lo kende*, to go, and *kende*, go ! (with the emphatic, *kende-ke* !) *lo solo*, to choose, and *solo*, choose ! (with the emphatic form, *solo-ko* !)

The evidences, therefore, would seem to point to the Infinitive, shorn of its prefix (*uku*, *lo*, *ho*, etc.) being the more simple form : so.

taking the Infinitive as the simplest form would seem to be the more natural way of dealing with all the Bantu dialects.

In Lamba, and the kindred Central African dialect of Lala, one finds three Infinitive forms—the Present, the Continuous and the Perfect. The last I have not met with in any Bantu Grammar, though it is possible that it exists in other dialects. In Lamba we have :—

ukwikala=to sit,

uku lu kwikala=to sit continually,

and *uku lu kwikele*=to be in the state of sitting.

This perfect, or stative, Infinitive, however, can only be used with certain verbs, especially with those which have the stative derivative suffix of *-ama*, e.g., *uku sendama*, to be crooked, and *uku fisama*, to be in hiding ; and with certain passives. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that in Lala and Lamba there is a Future Perfect, or, as it is called, a Future Stative tense ; thus in Lala, *nko ikele*=I shall be in the state of sitting, or I shall be set; and in Lamba similarly, *tu ka lu ku lele*=we shall be in the state of sleeping, we shall be asleep (as contrasted with the Future Simple, *tu ka lala*, we shall sleep ; or the Future Continuous, *tu ka lu ku lala*, we shall sleep continually, or be sleeping). It would be interesting to know whether this is met with in other Bantu dialects.

In Bantu, the Objective Genitive may easily be distinguished from the Subjective Genitive by using the Passive Infinitive ; for instance, in Lamba, *ukulambula kwanji* (my payment) means “ my paying,” but *ukulambulwa kwanji* (my payment) means “ my being paid.” Thus a careful distinction may be made, in translating “the love of God,” between “ love to God ” and “ love by God,” by the use of the Active and the Passive Infinitives.

In these few notes, there is no time to touch on the various prefixes used with the Infinitive, or on the uses of the Infinitive, grammatically or in colloquial speech ; neither is there time to investigate the interesting irregular endings to certain infinitives in Swahili, due to Arabic influence, or to those of several of the Congo languages, alluded to above, which show a divergence from the general Bantu rule, that the Infinitive ends in the vowel *-a*.

C. M. Doke.

20th August, 1921.

APPOINTMENTS.

Mr A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, M.A., has been appointed Prof. of Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town. After securing first class Anthropology under Drs Haddon, Rivers, and Duckworth, he was elected to an Anthony Wilkins studentship in Ethnology at Cambridge, subsequently spending two years in anthropological research in the Andaman Islands. In 1908 he became a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1919 was appointed lecturer in Ethnology under the University of London. Two more years research—this time in the interior of Western Australia—were followed by lecturing on Social Anthropology in the University of Birmingham. In 1914 Mr Radcliffe-Brown carried on research work in Australia, and 1918-19 he organised a system of native education in the kingdom of Tonga (Friendly Islands), South Pacific. During this year he has been Ethnologist to the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria. He has contributed largely to various anthropological journals, etc., and Cape Town University is to be heartily congratulated on the appointment it has made. Professor Radcliffe-Brown will organise and co-ordinate research in Bantu Studies, and will give special lectures on modern methods of research, etc.

Rev. A. T. Bryant has been appointed Research Fellow and Lecturer in Bantu Ethnology at the University College, Johannesburg. This appointment has been made possible through the generosity of the Council of Education, Witwatersrand. Mr Bryant has for some years been engaged on the ethnological history of the Zulus, and the present appointment will enable him to continue the work. He will, however, deliver public lectures and conduct short courses annually at the University College, Johannesburg, the first series to commence in October.

Mr Bryant's publications include "Zulu-English Dictionary," "Zulu Medicine Men," "Native Diet," and many other contributions in pamphlet form. He has lived in Natal as a missionary for close upon 30 years, and has exceptional knowledge of Zulu history, language and customs.

Mr C. M. Doke, M.A., is proceeding to the London School of Oriental Studies for further philological study. He was for some years a missionary in Lambaland, Northern Rhodesia, where he

gave special study to the Lamba language. In 1919 he took his M.A. degree at the University College, Johannesburg (University of South Africa) in Comparative Philology (Bantu).

Mr W. M. Eiselen, M.A., who graduated in Classics in the University of Stellenbosch, is proceeding to Hamburg and Berlin to study under Professor Meinhof and others.

AFRICANA.

The Council of Education, Witwatersrand, has acquired a collection of books on native affairs, which it is intended shall form the nucleus of a reference library for students and others interested in Bantu and allied studies. The collection contains several rare philological publications, and may be consulted at the University College, Johannesburg.

AFRICAN LIFE AND LANGUAGES.

Capetown University has published a syllabus of its B.A. courses in Bantu Languages and Social Anthropology. The following is a summary of the syllabus :—

BANTU LANGUAGES.

First qualifying Course for B.A. :

- (a) General Bantu Philology.

Text-book : Miss Werner, *Bantu Languages*.

- (b) A Bantu Language.

The Language offered in 1922 will be Sesuto. Students wishing to take others may be able to do so by arrangement.

Text-book : Jacottet's *Sesuto Grammar*.

Dieterlen-Mabille : *Sesuto Dictionary*.

Puisano : *Moeti oa Bochabelo* : Paliso, 1-3.

Ellenberger's *History et Basotho*.

- (c) General sketch of the history of the tribe whose language is studied, giving its place in South African history.

The examination will be partly oral.

Second Qualifying Course for B.A. :

- (a) Developed Bantu Philology and Phonetics.

Meinhof's *Lautlehre and Comparative Grammar*.

- (b) A second Bantu language or extended study of the first with its sagas and other specialised forms of literature.

- (c) General sketch of Bantu history, with special reference to the tribes whose languages are studied.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

First Qualifying Course for B.A. :

- (a) General Social Anthropology (Elementary).

Books recommended for reading :—

Morgan : *Ancient Society*.

Tylor : *Primitive Culture*.

MacDougall : *Introduction to Social Psychology*.

- (b) Races and Cultures of Africa, particularly South Africa.

Keane : *Ethnology*.

Second Qualifying Course for B.A. :

(a) General Social Anthropology (Advanced).

Books recommended for reading :—

Durkheim : *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.*

Durkheim : *De la Division du Travail Social.*

Frazer : *Totemism and Exogamy.*

Frazer : *The Golden Bough.*

Hubert et Mauss : *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions.*

(b) The Social System of the Bantu.

Text-books : Junod : *Life of a South African Tribe.*

Smith and Dale : *The Ila-speaking People.*

Note—Students who wish to take the Second Qualifying Course in Social Anthropology must have completed Bantu Languages I. and Psychology I. Ability to read French, and to a less degree German, will be of advantage.

M.A. IN AFRICAN LIFE AND LANGUAGES.

Students who wish to take M.A. in African Life and Languages must have completed for B.A. the following courses :

Bantu Languages I. and II.

Social Anthropology I. and II.

The candidate will be required to take up the study of some special division of the subject, which must be approved by the professors, and will be examined in it either by a written examination or by a thesis, supplemented by an oral examination when necessary.

VARIA.

The first issue of "Bantu Studies" was warmly welcomed. Many letters have been received, for which the Publication Committee desire to thank the writers. The number of the annual subscribers fully justifies the publication of the bulletin.

This is, however, only a very small beginning and very much depends upon the support in the form of manuscript contributions which will be forthcoming. We, therefore, think it well to emphasise our particular desire for "brief accounts of any research work completed, in hand, or contemplated, and queries on any questions presenting difficulties to any student or worker."

* * *

The Rev. H. S. Bishop, Lourenço Marques, has favoured us with the following details of work on Ši Ronga undertaken by him.

1. An elementary practical course in Ši Ronga.
2. A Ši Ronga-English Dictionary.
3. An English-Ši Ronga Dictionary (Supplementary to No. 2)
4. A Grammar of the Ši Ronga language.
5. Ši Ronga proverbs.

* * *

Mr W.M. Eiselen, M.A., at present studying at the School of Oriental Studies, Hamburg, writes sending his good wishes for the success of "Bantu Studies," and, in a general discussion of the position of Native Studies in South Africa, pleads for the establishment in South Africa of a well-equipped laboratory for experimental phonetics.

* * *

The Rev. W. A. Crabtree, Coton, Cambridgeshire, in wishing success to this bulletin, writes :

"There is no need to remind you that Anthropological Studies are now firmly established in Cambridge ; and I trust we shall keep in close touch with your work in South Africa. A small beginning is also made here with African Languages and I hope it will grow. In the past we have had three or four pupils in Swahili ; one in Kele (Upper Congo), and at the

present moment there is one in Karanga and one in Hausa. A third for Xosa has had to defer his studies to next year, having arranged to take two years Anthropology in one, the *Tripos* being imminent. Wishing your new venture every success."

* * *

Dr A. H. Spurrier, C.M.G., O.B.E., Zanzibar, sends details of the Zanzibar Peace Memorial, which it is intended to develop into a "Bureau of Information on Native Affairs and a Native Institute." The Official Gazette Supplement states that :

" Considerable progress has been made this year in the building of the Zanzibar Peace Memorial, which is now within reasonable reach of completion. As one of the principal features of the Memorial is the Museum, anyone who is in a position to contribute articles of interest either as gifts or on loan should get into communication with the Memorial Committee to give the Committee some idea of what is forthcoming and of the fittings required to exhibit and protect such articles.

" Such communications may be addressed to Dr A. H. Spurrier, C.M.G., O.B.E., who has kindly consented to deal with them."

* * *

Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, has published from the Lovedale Press a bibliography of Bantu Literature under the title of "Bantu Literature : Classification and Reviews." We have not had an opportunity of examining the lists exhaustively, but the little book cannot but be most useful to students and others interested in Bantu Literature. It is a pity that Mr Jabavu has not added the names of the publishers, especially where recent publications are concerned. He must, however, be thanked for his labours, and books of this nature are to be heartily welcomed.

* * *

We have before us a programme of lectures by the Rev. A. T. Bryant (Research Fellow and Lecturer in Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand) to be delivered during May at the University, Johannesburg. The following are the subjects covered:

The Native Mind : Its bearing on their progress and on our industrial and political future.

The Eastern Bantu Migration and Zimbabwe.

The Descent of the Union Bantu.

Native Doctors : their Methods and their Medicines.

The Primitiveness and Perfection of Bantu Language-Structure.
The Story of South Bantu Food-Plants and Domestic Animals.
Zulu Family and State Organisation.
Zulu Marriage Customs and Married Life.

THE PREFIX OF THE LOCATIVE IN KAFIR.

By REV. W. BOURQUIN, Tinana, East Griqualand.

A certain number of the Eastern Bantu languages form their Locative by adding the suffix *ni* or *ini*. The same is done in Kafir where *ini*, *eni* is used. But there exists another peculiarity which the Kafir shares with Zulu, Ronga and their dialects, and by which they are distinguished from the other languages forming the Locative in *ini*. Whilst in those languages no other changes take place, in Kafir the initial vowel is replaced by *e*, *endlwini* from *indlu* house, *emlanjeni* from *umlambo* river. This fact, although always recorded, has never been sufficiently explained. But it is obvious that this change must have some reasons.

In Zulu the initial vowel is likewise replaced by *e*, only the *lu* class and *bu* class having sometimes *o* in place of it. In Ronga (Junod : "Grammaire Ronga," and "Grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan Language") the vowel *a*, in other dialects *e* is prefixed to the Locative, and this prefix is also found in other cases specified by Junod. But he remarks that this initial vowel tends to become obsolete.

There will be no doubt that all these vowels *e*, *o*, *a* must have a common origin, and it seems to me that Ronga has preserved it in its original form *a*, *o* in Zulu being a coalescence of *a* and *u*, whilst in Kafir and Djonga *a* was softened to *e*. The derivation of *o* and *e* from original *a* is of common appearance in Bantu. As the suffix *ini* expresses clearly the idea of locality, it can be assumed that the prefix does the same and implies in itself a notion of locality. This view could be even more convincing, as, apart from the Locative form with *ini*, another second kind of Locative exists, which is exclusively formed by the prefix. Proper names of places as well as other local and temporal designations only replace the initial vowel by *e*, *eKapa* at Capetown, *ekhaya* at home, *emini* at noon, *ebusuku* at night, etc. This shows at least that the prefix is not necessarily connected with the suffix *ini*. But although at first sight it seems by itself to represent an idea of locality it has very probably quite another meaning.

Junod when dealing with it (Thonga-Shangaan Grammar, p. 26) says : " In Proper nouns *e* is never found except in names of countries beginning with the prefix *vu* and in the Locative case, where it seems to take the place of the wanting locative suffix." But he enumerates many other cases where this *e* or *a* is found and where it has nothing to do with an idea of locality, giving as first instance its use before the nominal prefixes. And I think he is quite right not to make any difference between this variously used *e* or *a*. It is one and the same in all cases. Although he says that it has no meaning at all to-day and tends to disappear, it is not only probable, but quite certain, that it had a determinative meaning in former times, as " those who speak their tongue quite in the old style follow very precise rules in the use of it." This *a* in Ronga and the identical *e* of the Locative in Kafir seems to me another remarkable proof of the assumption by Meinhof of a general copula *ya* in the original Bantu with the probable meaning of "it is" (Meinhof : "Lautlehre," p. 38). Bearing in mind the original meaning, it will be of the greatest interest to study its use in Ronga, where its rules ought to be closely investigated before it totally disappears. It becomes quite clear at least that it can never be used before the Vocative, the copula and demonstrative pronouns.

Turning back to the Kafir, the following sentence, *wangena endlwini* would accordingly mean "he entered, it is the house-place." It becomes clear also why in the above mentioned second kind of Locatives, where *ini* is omitted, the prefix must be retained, e.g., *bavela a Tinana*, they come from, it is Tinana. As *Tinana* itself is the name of a place, *ini* was not necessary as in other local and temporal designations, e.g., *siyalala ebusuku*, we sleep at night (it is the night-time.)

This explanation is supported by another peculiarity in connection with the Locative in Kafir and Zulu. A sentence like, "he is in the house" has to be translated in Kafir with *usendlwini*. This *s* which appears suddenly before the Locative has been described by many as nothing else than a mere euphonic letter, to connect the two vowels. But there are certainly no mere euphonic letters at all, and each of these so-called letters has its full reasons, although we do not yet know them always. It would really be hard to believe that *s* is euphonic to the native ear in the Locative, and another letter in another case. It could scarcely be a matter of purely individual taste.

In Kafir *s* is not an original sound, but mostly derived from original *k* followed by *i* (sometimes from *t* and *i*). The prefix *isi* corresponds to *iki* or *ki* in many other languages. Accordingly it ought to be supposed that *s* before the Locative must be also derived from an older *k* followed once by *i*. That this is not a mere hypothesis is proved by the fact that here amongst the Hlubi some people still say *ukentabeni*, *ukemlanjeni*, in place of *usentabeni*, *usemlanjeni*, he is on the mountain, in the river. This *s* or *k* is used when a personal pronoun, the verb *ukuba*, to be, and *nga*, *na* and *njenga* precede the Locative. It seems to convey a local notion and could perhaps be expressed by the words "at the place." Just because the prefix *e* is a sort of copula, it would be impossible to say for "it (the ox) is in the cattlefold" *i ebuhlanti*, as this originally would have meant "it, it is the cattlefold." It was felt that this did not sufficiently express the idea wanted, and therefore it was said "it (*i*) at the place (*s*) it is (*e*) the cattlefold (*buhlanti*)—*isebuhlanti*." Other examples are *uyakubasekhaya* he will be at home, at the place it is home, *ngasekholo* to the left, in the direction (*nga*) at a place (*s*) it is (*e*) the left side (*khohlo*), *njengaselwandle* like on the sea, at a place it is the sea, etc.

This *s* appears also in a sort of genitive construction like *indoda yase Monti*, an East London Man, a man of the place it is East London. It could be objected that there is no other *si* or *ki* in Kafir, which justifies the assumption of the sense above. But old words have survived often only in isolated places, having disappeared elsewhere like the prefix *pha* in Kafir. It is noteworthy, however, that the Phuthi, a tribe between the Hlubi and Suto, use *kekhi* for "where," the Zulu and some of the Hlubi *ngakhi*, "how many, in place of *ngaphi*, where *khi* and *phi* are interchanged, *phi* clearly being a local designation.

Miss Werner in her "Bantu Languages" mentions, p. 83, that the Locative prefix *e* appears also in Ganda, and it would be interesting to find out whether it is identical with the prefix in Kafir and supports the explanation given above.

A HOTTENTOT RAIN CEREMONY.

Mrs. A. W. HOERNLE, B.A.

On the 25th of June, 1913, when I was living among the !Aunin or Topnaar Hottentots of Walfish Bay, it began to rain very gently but steadily. This rarely happens in the bay, and certainly it was the only time I ever saw rain while I was in the country. It naturally led to a discussion on rain, during which I got an account of a very curious rain ceremony, said to have been practised among all the Hottentot tribes of Great Namaqualand as one of their chief yearly ceremonies, and still kept up in a very small way by some families to-day.

The man who first described it to me was a bastard, Johannes Engelbrecht, who had himself seen the ceremony among the !Aman of Bethany. Later I got descriptions agreeing in all essentials with the first, and on two separate occasions, from two of my most reliable informants, one old !Amatis, who belonged to the chief's family in the // Khau/gõan or Zwaatboy tribe, the other old Gottlief //Amib, one of the real wise men of the !Aunin tribe, who had been one of the chief native witnesses before the commission which finally decided the boundaries between German and English territory round Walfish Bay in 1890. Thus I feel quite confident about the essentials of the ceremony, but as I have never seen it myself I should like to call attention to it in the hope that some worker in the field may some day be lucky enough to observe it being performed, in however attenuated a form.

The following description is based on the accounts I received from the three sources I have just given :—

The *Guri* †*Āb*/ or *Guriba* †*Ābas* (yearly killing) was the most important feast among the Hottentots. All families which could possibly do so took part in it. It was held near the chief's kraal, and if possible on the banks of a stream. If there was no stream near, then a trench to simulate one was dug. When the old men judged that the summer rains were due (in November or December) they told the chief that it was time to hold the yearly feast, and he sent word to all outlying families and decided the day and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributed according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who could some female animal, which in the old days was either a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast could not be held at all without one pregnant animal.

On the spot itself a shelter was made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires were lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire was lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals were killed and cut up very carefully so as to preserve the uteri intact, and these were kept until after the feast so far as I can understand, though there is some confusion about the exact procedure, and I rather gather that eating went on most of the time until all the food was finished.

When the fire at the riverside was ready, and a channel to the river had been made "the old men of the tribe who were good at prophesying would take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid would flow directly through the fire and down into the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals were thrown on to the fire, so that liquid really flowed, and great clouds of smoke rose into the sky, while all the people round called to the rain asking it to come, to come in plenty, to make the ground soft, and the grass green, that people might have plenty of food for the year." All through the day they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is then not long before the rain comes. "In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain."

This rain ceremony seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolising the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come.

If any field worker should chance to have the opportunity of getting further details it would be very interesting to know just how the old men gauge the time for the festivals, and just how the feast fits in with the actual ceremony of the fire on the bank.

A SECWANA—"HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT".

By Professor W. A. NORTON, M. A., B.Litt..

University of Cape Town.

Moshukudumosjopya le Phuti : M. le P. ba lema tshimo. Yanoñ
The Hornless Rhino and the Duiker : M. and P. were cultivating
P. ea tla go ya ditloo tsa ga M. M. a ba a di mo duedisa : a ba a di
a field, when P. came and ate the groundbeans of M.; but M. made him
lefa ka mogoma.

pay for them. He paid for them with a hoe.

A fitlhile, dikgaka di epa monyakaladi ka dinala. "Fha le epa
And (M.) came where the guinea-fowl were, digging m. with their
m. ka dinala, le tlhokileñ ?" "Re tlhokile se re epañ ka sona."
claws. When you dig m. with your claws, what do you need?" "We need
"Tsaea mogoma, ke o, me le se ka la o roba." Tsa be di o roba,
wherewithal to dig." "Take a hoe ; here it is: don't break it." But they
a raea dikgaka a re, "Fha le nthubela mogomà (mogoma ke o filwe
broke it, and he said to the guinea-fowl : "If you smash my hoe (I was
ke Phuti; Ph. ke mo reile, 'a re leme' ; a re 'ke tla ya mokukuru oa
given the hoe by P.—I said to him : "Let us hoe.' He said : I shall eat
ga Mañwato ga o tlhokwe'), la reñ ? o dueleñ." Ba be ba mo
dry pods of moshu-thorn of M. : (the hoe) is not needed (for that). What
duela ka monyakaladi.
say you ?—pay for it." They paid for it with 'm.

A fitlhela likoko li ya makgabana, a ba a re : "Fha le ya
Then he came where fowls were eating gravel, and said: "When
makgabana, le tlhokileñ." Likoko tsa be li re : "Re tloka liyo."
you eat gravel, what do yo need?" The fowls said : "We want food."
Tsaeañ monyakaladi ke o, me le se ka la o shwetsa." Tsa be li o shwe-
"Take the m. here, but don't finish it." However, they finished it.
tsa. A ba a re, "Luelañ monyakaladi oa me." Ba be ba mo neela sego.
Then he said : "Pay me for my m." They gave him a calabash.

A fitlhela lichwene li nwa metse ka liatla : a ba a re : "Kwa
He came to baboons which were drinking water with their hands, and

go chwene, fha le nwa metse ka liatla, le tlhokileñ ?” “Re tlhokile said to them : “*Ye baboons, when you drink water with your hands, what se re nwañ ka sona.*” “Tsaeañ sego ke se, me le se ka la se thuba.” do you need?”. “We need wherewithal to drink.” “Take this calabash, and Tsa be li se thuba. A ba a tla a re : “Kwa go chwene, fha le don't break it.” but they broke it. Then he said to them : “*Ye baboons, if nthubela sego*, sego ke se filwe ke dikoko, dikoko di njetse monyaka—you break my calabash, the calabash which I was given by the fowls, the ladi, monyakaladi ke o filwe ke dikgaka, dikgaka di nthubetse fowls which ate my m., the m. which I was given by the guinea-fowls, the mogoma, mog. ke o filwe ke Phuti.—Se dueleñ.*” Tsa be li mo guineafowls which broke my hoe, the hoe which I was given by P.—pay for neela pitsa.

it.” Then they gave him a crock.

A ba a fitlhela maTebele, a besitse kgomo ka molelo, a ba a re : “*He came to the maT., who were cooking beef over the fire, and said :* re : “Kwa go Tebele, fha le besitse kgomo ka molelo, le tlhokileñ?”, “*Ye Matabele, when you cook beef over the fire, what do you want ?* “We Re tlhokile se re apaeañ ka sona.” “Tsaea pitsa ke e, me le se want wherewithal to cook.” “Take this crock, and don't break it.” But ka la e thuba.” Ba be ba e thuba, a ba a re : “Kwa go Tebele, fha they broke it, and he said : “*Ye Matabele, if you break my pot, which le nthubela pitsa, pitsa ke e filwe ke dichwene, dichwene li nthubetse I was given by the baboons, the baboons which broke my calabash, etc. sego,* etc....e lueleng.*” Ba be ba mo neela mosimanyane.—pay for it.” They gave him a little boy.

A fitlhela mosimane eo moñwe a lebeletse mae. A ba a re, M. came to another boy, who was watching eggs. He said : “Whose Mae, a a ga mañ ?” Mosimanyane eo moñwe a re : “A ga Seanyane.” are these ?” The other little boy said : “Seanyane's,” S. said, “Let S. o rile, “Mothubi a tlube, mogati a gate.” M. a a gata, a ba a the breaker break, let the stamper stamp. M. stamped, and said to raea mosimanyane, “O fete o re ‘A thubiloe ke M.’” Seanyane a ba the little boy : “Pass on and say, ‘They have been broken by M. Then S. a tla a re, “Mae a thubiloe ke mañ ?” Mosimane a re : “A thubiloe came and said : “By whom have the eggs been broken ?” The boy said : ke M.” Seanyane a ba a tsamaea, a ba a fitlha lipholoholo, a ba “They have been broken by M.” Then S. went away, and came to the li raea, a re : “Lipholoholo ke lona, (g)a le se le bone S., a feta ? “E, beasts, and said to them : “*Ye beasts, have you seen S. (?) pass ?*” “Yes,

o fetile, o ile koa." A ba a tsamaea S., a ba a bona liphoholo, a he has passed, and is gone yonder." S. went on and saw (other) beasts, ba a li raea, a re : "A le se le bone M., a feta?" A ba a tsamaea a bona and spoke to them, and said : "Have you yet seen M. pass? Then he went tse li ñwe, a ba a bona M., a re " Ga o ese o bone M.? A ntseeia motsae, on and saw other (beasts), and then he saw M. and said : Have you not yet a o isa teñteñ." M. a re : "Monna, o kwa pele koo, o bina, seen M? He took my egg, and put it over there." M. said.: "Man, he is in cencelele. Seanyana a ba a feta, a ntse a bona gore ke M., a ba front there, he is dancing. S. passed, seeing all the time that it is M., he re-a boa, a boela kwa morago, a ba a fitlhela M., a re : "A ba a re : "Hela! turned, and went back, till he came to M. and said : "Hello? beast, phohoholo, koena, ga o se go bona M. A re "M. ke nna." Ba be ba crocodile, have you not seen M.? He said, "I am M." Then they fought lwa. S. a ligela M. fa fatshe, a kgaola leleme ka tipa. S. a ba a, and S. knocked down M., and cut off his tongue with a knife. S. then tsamaea, M. a ba a mo tsoetsa ka lipheho, S. a ba a boa kwa go ene, went away, and M. caused winds to rise for him, and S. returned to him, yanoñ a mmolaea, a ba a mo tlogela, a mo tsoetsa lipheho tse litona, then he slew him, and left him : he caused great winds to rise for him, a boa gape, a mo sila go re a nne boleta. Go felile, ke gone yanoñ returned again, and ground him into dust. That's all : then he died. a ba a shwa.

Note—I beg to thank some of the brothers of the Chief at Molepolole for contributing this, and Mr Knobel for kind assistance in interpretation, though he is not responsible for my version; also the Rev. Tom Brown, L.M.S., for suggestions (e.g., monyakaladi, an edible root). I have left the local idiom and spelling, as significant phonetically and otherwise: e.g., the cerebral *l* before *i* and *u*: in the first two paragraphs, however, I have changed it to *d* (as in Wookey), to remind readers that when emphatic it is very close to the English *d*, and is often now so pronounced. The text might be amended in places, but I have thought it safer to leave it as given, e.g., the title.—W.A.N.

ZULU ORIGINS.

By Rev. W. A. CRABTREE, M.A., Coton, Cambs.

The time is fully ripe for a periodical dealing entirely with African language questions. There are many other workers, mostly isolated from each other, and little co-ordination for lack of any central authority either in literature or in systematic training. Anthropology and Ethnology at present attract most interest ; there is less difficulty in getting papers on these subjects published than there is for Language. The opportunities therefore before the School for Bantu Studies are of vast extent and importance : and I wish the school and its periodical publication every success.

As the School has its centre in South Africa, there are exceptional facilities for the study of two great races, Zulu-Kaffir and Suto-Cwana, both of which have, certainly in language, marked Bantu. Whilst allowing Ethnology a premier place in research as to origins, psychology and language should not be overlooked. It is on the latter that I desire to make a few remarks, confining myself to the Zulu-Kaffir type. For convenience let us call it Zulu—remembering that older forms are probably retained in the Xosa variety.

"Little has been said to emphasize the fact that Zulu is a distinct type of Bantu, a type so near and yet so peculiar that it could not have developed side by side with normal Bantu. There must have been a large gap both in time and space between the two, an early separation which has only been changed into neighbourhood within the last thousand or so years of our era." (Crabtree : " Primitive Speech," Part II. Introduction.)

The use of *ukuti*, do like this, followed by onomatopoeic adverb, clearly shows a time when the Zulu race were first thrown in contact with strangers. There could have been no gradual mingling ; it was a case of sudden necessity. And without doubt these strangers were Bushmen, whom previously the Zulu race had not met. Then came a period of intermingling whose keynote is the perversion of sounds, not of grammatical forms. Thus, as I have shown (*Primitive Speech* Part I., p. 106, 107), normal Bantu sounds were perverted into clicks. This stage marks a time when the Zulu was compelled to adopt these

sounds. Either the newcomers were without women folk or they were in such a destitute state on their arrival as to need nursing into new life. From one or other of these causes the children had to pronounce their father's tongue in this way, as well as to take over a portion of the Bushman vocabulary. With returning life the old inherited virility reasserted itself ; and the race took that foremost place which it has always occupied in historic times.

For let it be remembered by way of contrast that not only does Zulu show marked decline from a true Bantu type, but it shews in addition an abundance of peculiar idioms of a high order of development. The simple thought of normal Bantu with all its vividness has been extended into lengthy forms not to be found elsewhere. There is no extension of forms in the least like this in primitive speech. There is just a suggestion of it in the Yao vocabulary ; and there is just a touch in the Hausa use of a longer form now and again to make a sentence impressive. Otherwise the idea seems quite foreign to Africa. It is a later development of language in which the public speaker, as we may see in English and other European tongues, chooses sonorous phrases to emphasise and impress. In Zulu the speaker does one of two things. He either brings what is normally, a dependent part of speech into the self-standing form with Pre-prefix or he reduplicates. In a few cases he may combine both methods.

Reduplication in its simplest form is seen in such a word as *njenga*, like for *nga-nga*: base KA, like G. *nga*. In its complex varieties it is seen in the repetition of prefix in an ornate sentence whilst innumerable instances occur in the use of Adverbs and conjunctions. A good example is the five forms for the one word "because" in Kaffir, viz., *kuba*, the being,¹ because : *kukuba*, with reduplicated prefix, and, therefore, self-standing : hence followed by relative verb form in *-yo*, whereas the preceding *kuba*, a dependent form, takes the simple verb form ; *ngokuba* for *nga-kuba*, with reduplicated prefix reduced to its usual pre-prefix form, *uku* or *oku* and *nga* adverbial, a phonetic variant of K1 or KA (see Prefix System) : *ngokokuba*, with a combination of *nga* adverbial and *oku* reduplicated to *okoku* ; and, finally, for negative sentences, *ngakuba*, where *nga* is negative KA, not, so that we have "because he does not" expressed by double negative, viz., the-not-being he-does-not.

Besides this complexity of idiom, the sentences in the Zulu Dictionary shew a very marked strain of Nature-worship, without parallel in Ganda, Nyoro, Kavirondo, or, so far as I can make out, any other Bantu language.

Closely akin to this lengthening of forms is the pleonastic prefix with names (*u-Yakobo*, etc.) : and the double Locative as in *e-endlwini-ni*, etc. Further, as I shewed in the Prefix System, this form gets mixed up with other locatives, viz., *e-nyumba*, at the house: *mu nyumba*, inside the house: *ku nyumba*, upon the house. For *endlwini*, with, of course, every similar form, may, according to sense denote all three. The same confusion is found in Sw, *nyumbani*, with kindred forms as *mtoni*, at or in the river, etc.

All this mixing up of purely Bantu ideas in the locative, and similar phenomena such as the confusion of elemental prefixes, points to later development with some slight foreign element in the ruling class. The highly complicated idiom suggests opportunities for social improvement not obtainable in Africa. Wherever the Zulu were before they got to South Africa, they had occasion to copy an ornate style of diction. At the same time they developed military instincts quite out of keeping with African Bantu races, together with a few markedly barbarous customs, such as skinning the Mambo alive; impaling through the anus; and killing cattle by rupture of the aorta. The first two have a Persian or Assyrian flavour.

In the Tenses of Verbs there is much yet to study. Both in Kele (Upper Congo) and in Tonga, Ila, Luba, etc., we find an excess of tense forms beyond what is found in Ganda, but Zulu appears to know them not. Zulu, however, adds a participial form, largely characterised by "e" prefix (or infix) apparently identical with Sw. -*ki-*, participial, and probably related to the "i" ending of *nomen agentis*. The ineffective or implicative mood given in Ganda by -*ba'* *de* (perfect of -*ba*, to be), Zulu -*be*, has yet to be investigated in Zulu. For the Zulu tenses in *be* do not all appear to imply that the action was taken up, but interrupted—or that there was doubt as to whether it would be acceptable and pleasing to the master—in a word, Ineffective or Implicative.

There are peculiarities in Vocabulary, apart from the Bushman element, which seem to point to contact with the Fang group. This point is worth further study. There is, I think, a slight Zulu element in Ila; otherwise little affinity, beyond certain words,² with the Vocabulary peculiar to the Upper Congo, Ganda, Luba, Nyanja and Karanga. Broadly speaking, Zulu and its near kindreds, like Thonga, are *sui generis* in East Africa.

One striking fact deserves notice. In Hausa initial "l" in a few cases replaces initial Arabic *kh* or *h*; as *lema*, a tent (*khema*):

Sw. hemu : labari, news *Sw. habari (khabari) : lisafi*, to number, an account : *Sw. hesabu (hasabu)*. In Zulu we have “*l*” before Demonstrative forms where Swahili has “*h*”. Now the normal demonstrative is formed from the prefix direct ; and this prosthetic “*l*” or “*h*” is an exotic found only in Zulu and Swahili. The prosthetic letter is a feature of Semitic ; compare also “*w*” as in Arab. *wahid*, one ; *watad*, a tent peg, for Heb. *ehad, atad*, respectively.

The relation of “*l*” to “*h*” may also have something to do with Semitic dialects. Hausa seems to be a primitive speech, blended out of Fula and Phoenician, both very early speeches, the one representing proto-Hamite and the other linking on to proto-Arab traders, such as Midianite, early Amalek and other children of the East, who from remote times engaged extensively in trade by sea and land. The black race they employed were not, I would suggest, at first natives of Africa, but that other section of black people whom Herodotus called Eastern Ethiopians. And it is there that we may have to look for the first origins of such a distinct Bantu type as Zulu.

Lastly, the name Zulu is itself a distinct development of original Gulu or Cush. Just as in East Africa Gulu, the light-skinned race known to the Hebrews as Cush,³ got confused with Bantu *li-gulu*, the sky, so we may confuse Zulu as the name of a race with *i-ziulu*, the sky ; but the two are really distinct. In East Africa Gulu as the name of a race appears as *-zungu*, or *-lungu* ; in the case of South Africa it appears as Zulu. The two types of Bantu are distinct. So, too, the corresponding adjective by which the African always describes the light-skinned race and which also expresses “red” are distinct and belong to two types. In Swahili we have *ekundu*, red, the base of which is GUL.

In Zulu this characteristic adjective is taken from a base BUL, viz., *bomvu*, red, which as the corresponding *isi-buda*, red-clay, shews, is the participle of an obsolete verb *bonga*, base *bong* for *bol, bul*. Now this BUL is the characteristic of the name for the Cush trader in North Africa, viz., Egyptian Punt, the country, colony or market of the Pun people ; the familiar name Puni, Phoenician ; and an adjective *bod-ewo*, pl. *bod-ejo*, red, in Fula. It is a small point which shews how the Zulu race kept in touch for a long period with Phoenician or some related Semite stock.

But that the original word Gulu or Cush still had some association with fact in the Zulu mind seems evidenced by their name for the Creoles of Mauritius, viz., *ama-kushukushu* or *ama-kunyukunyu*.

So by language, by temperament, and in the name applied to themselves, the Zulu, so it seems to the writer, are marked out as a distinct branch of the Bantu race. Their earliest home was possibly the country called in Hebrew Cushan definitely, only associated with Median on the two occasions where it is used. In form Cushan seems to be from Cush with locative "n" added, as in many Hebrew names : Kedron, Lebanon, etc. The name survives in part in the word Cushtistan, a southern province of Persia.

¹ Occasionally also in English, e.g., He went in, being the owner—because he was the owner. Because—the cause being.

² But often a common object has a special word as *intloko*, head for B. *omutive* : *isandla*, hand for B. *umu-kono* or *omu-boko* : *inilizyo*, heart, B. *omu-tima*.

³ Cush so inter-married with negro, like his modern descendant the Swahili Arab, that the word came to mean a curly-headed negro ; but this was not its first signification.

A SPECIMEN OF THE FOLK-LORE OF THE LAMBA PEOPLE OF NORTHERN RHODESIA.

BY CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A.

IFYA WÂLYULU NA WAKAWUNDA

Wâlyulu wâ li upile Wakaŵunda, ne ku fyala-mo imboswa yaŵo Wâlyulu. Pa kweŵa ati wâ mu fyale'fyo, ne kukula ka kula. Pa kweŵa ati a silo'ku kula, kambi kasuŵa lomba a lu ku wâso'ŵuta, lomba ne mifwi a lu ku fula.

Wawisi ne ku mwipusya ati: Mba yando iyi mifwi u lu ku fula, pakuti kuno kwiulu ta wenda na mifwi ? Aŵâwyôwe wonsé wâ li ne tutemo ne mafumo, weŵo te kwelelwa uku fule'mifwi ! Lomba a lu ku fula lukoso, ta umfwile ifyo.

Kambi kasuŵa ne ku wûlo'ŵuta bwakwe, ne kú ya ukwa lu kwante'ntafu aŵâwyakwe : ne ku fika lomba ná ye a lu kwanta. Popele aŵâwyakwe ne ku mu wisya. Pa kweŵa ati wâ mu wisye'fyo, a lile ne ku wûlo'ŵuta bwakwe, ne ku laso'muŵyakwe uyo uwa mu wisisyé.

Pa kweŵa ati a mu lase'fyo, Wâlyulu wâ li fitilwe, ati : Pakuti we mwana wanji na lu ku kanya ati te ku fułe'mifwi ku calo ca kwiulu ! Popele a li tinine ukwakuti, ne kú wâ ne mwenso. Lomba ne ku mu wûla wânyina ati. We mwana wanji fyuka ú ye pali Wacipimpi pansi pa mfumu pa wafyala wôŵe. Popele icinè'a li fyukile umwano' yo Kaŵunda.

Popele wânyina, pa kweŵa ati wâ syala na wâwisi, Wâlyulu ne ku laŵila ati : Koku, ca wîpa umwana wenu, mwe wâkasi wânjî, ta citile-po bwino ; na mwêŵo ndu ku fwaya ati mü ye mu konke umwana wenu ! Popele ná wô cine wâ 'i imine, ná wô ne ku konko' mwana waŵo pansi, kopele uko kuli Cipimpi, umwipwa wa Wâlyulu.

Pa kweŵa ati wâ fike'fyo, kambi kasuŵa ya li wukile imilimo ya wutala. Popele ne kwinjila wonsé na Wamwana-Cipimpi na Wamwipwa-Cipimpi. Pa kweŵa ati wâ silo'ku nyante'lôwa popele uyo Kaŵunda ne kú ya kuli wânyina. Wânyina ne ku mu funda ati : ifintu fyonse ifi wâ ku pela aŵâwyôwe weŵo te ku poka i. Koti weŵo u tinamino 'muntu. Umuntu uwa ku ku pela wipaye ; popele twise twange.

Popele cine umwana waŵo wa li umfwile uyo. Pa kweŵa ati wâ silo'ku masa wonsé, ne ku wâ pelaikembusi, ne ku lu ku poka, ka wâ lu ku fuma. Pa kweŵa ati ye tu mü pe imbusi, a li kene ne ku tinamino'muntu. Ne ku mu pela kalume, ati : Kalume ngu, a lu ku kofwa-ko milimo.

CONCERNING KING HEAVEN¹ AND KAWUNDA.

King Heaven married Mistress Kawunda, and by her King Heaven begat her namesake. After thus begetting him, the child grew indeed. When he had finished growing, one day he began to carve a bow, and then he began to forge arrows.

And his father asked him saying : What are these arrows for that you are forging, for here in heaven people mustn't carry arrows? All your companions have axes and spears, you musn't forge arrows ! However, he just went on forging, he took no notice of that.

One day he took his bow, and went to where his companions were playing ball : and he arrived and he too began to play. Then his companions threw him down. When they had thrown him down, he went and took up his bow, and shot that companion who had thrown him down.

When he had thus shot him, King Heaven was wroth, saying: For you, my son, I forbade you to forge arrows in the country of heaven! And he feared greatly, and was filled with apprehension. And then his mother said to him : My child, make your escape secretly, and go down to earth to King Chipimpi, your cousin. So indeed that child Kawunda made his escape secretly.

Now while his mother remained with his father, King Heaven said : No, this is too bad of your child, O my wife, he did not do well ; and I want you to go and follow after your child ! And so she too arose, and went off after her child down to earth, right there to Chipimpi, the nephew of King Heaven.

After she had thus arrived, there started one day the work of erecting a grain-store. And all, including the son of Chipimpi and the nephew of Chipimpi entered the mud-pit. When they had finished treading the clay, that Kawunda went to his mother. And his mother instructed him saying : Whatever your companions give to you don't you accept it. You just set your heart on a man. The man, who is given to you, you kill ; then let us come and exult.

Then sure enough that child of hers obeyed. When all had finished plastering, a goat² was given to each in turn, and they took them, and went out. But when it was his turn that they should give him a goat, he refused, and set his heart on a man. And they gave him a slave, saying : Here is a slave, he will help you with your work.

Popele pa kweŵa ati a wone'fyo, a li imisye ise, ne ku mwipaya, ne ku samba mu milopa. Pa kweŵa ati ūa wone'fyo Wacipimpi ati : Kaŵili umuntu wa ipaya newo na ku pela ati a lu ku kofwa-ko imilimo : nsi ku pele ati wipaye koku ! Wanyina ná ūo wa li fumine ne ku lisyo' lumpundu : Wacipimpi ne ku laŵila ati : Ni weŵo wa mu ūula ! Mba nindo wa lisisye ulumpundu na weŵo ? Wacipimpi ne ku fitwo'kwakuti.

Lomba Kaŵunda, pa ku ūona Wacipimpi ūa fitwa, ne ku laŵila ku mwana wakwe ati : We mwana wanji ima, u lu kú ya, u ka temene pa mpange'fiteme : pakuti Wacipimpi ūa fitwa ná ūo. Ka mú ya mweŵilo ne nkasi yoŵe Munsysa. Ka mú ya mweŵilo, mu ka lu kwikele pa mpanga !

Popele icine ūa li fyukile ūoŵilo ne nkasi yakwe : ne kú ya pa mpanga. Pa kweŵa ati ūa ye 'fyo pa mpanga, ne fiteme lomba ūa lu ku tema : ne fyakulya nyinaŵo ne ku lu ku ūika mu cipopo, imbuto syonse lukoso ne ku mu pelo'mwana wakwe. Kulya ne kú ya ne ku wyala.

Pa kweŵa ati wa ūyale' fyo, na Cipimpi ne ku laŵila ati : Kaŵunda u li luŵile ! Tange nje ili nyenda ! Popele ūa lu ku ya Wacipimpi ili ūenda. Pa kweŵa ati ūa ende'fyo Wacipimpi, ūa sangane inguluŵe yá nyo'tufi ne masaka. Wacipimpi ne ku laŵila ati : Mba masaka aya a fuma kulipi? pakuti kwanji amasaka a li ūolele, fyonsé ifidyo fi li ūolele.

Lomba ūa lu kú ya ili ūa londa; kulya ūa sangane ni ku fiteme. Wacipimpi ne ku kankamana ati : Mba ni nani u temene muno ifi fiteme ? Ná ūo lomba lu kú ya Wacimpipi. Pa kweŵa ati ūa fika pa njanda, ná ye Kaŵunda ne ku fuma.

Wacipimpi, pa ku mu ūona Kaŵunda, ūa li kankamene, ati : Ne na lu ku languluka ati Kaŵunda a li fwile. Kansi we mwana wanji e-po u li ! Umwana waŵo ne ku sumina ati : E-po ndi, Tata ! Ne njanda ne ku ūa langa. Pa kweŵa ati lucele pa kú ca ati : Nga lu syale-po, we mwana wanji, ná ya mu kú ūula-po aŵa ku musi ati : Kaŵunda ngu mpa, ne nkasi yakwe !

Popele cine ūa li imine, lomba ūa lu kú ya Wacipimpi. Ka ūa fika na kwaŵo. Pa kweŵa ati ūa fika ku musi, ati: Mitende mfumu ! Ati : Mitende, aŵana ūanji na ūa ūona ūoŵilo ! Popele aŵantu ūonse ne ku temwa ati : Ca wama ! pakuti umwana wa mfumu wa ūoneka.

Pa kweŵa ati ūa lala simbi insiku, Wacipimpi ūa li laŵile ati : Tange mbwele nka ūone-po aŵana ūanji. Cine ūa li imine, lomba ūa lu kú ya Wacipimpi ; ne kufika ka ūa fika kuli Kaŵunda.

Then when he saw that, he raised a hoe, and slew him, and bathed in the blood.³ When Chipimpi saw that, he said : So, the man, whom you have killed, I gave you that he should help you with your work : I did not give him to you to kill ! And his mother went out and uttered shrill whistles of exultation ; and Chipimpi said : It is you who have told him ! Why do you too whistle ? Chipimpi was very wroth.

Thereupon Kawunda, when she saw that Chipimpi was angry said to her son : My son, arise and go, you shall cut down trees⁴ for gardens away in the bush ; because Chipimpi too is angry. Go, both you and your sister Munshya. Go, both of you, you shall live away in the bush !

Then sure enough both he and his sister made their escape secretly ; and went away into the bush. When they had thus gone into the bush, they began to cut timber⁴ for gardens ; and their mother began to put foodstuffs into her top-knot,⁵ and every kind of seed she gave to her son. And he, yonder, went and sowed them.

When he had thus sowed, then Chipimpi said : Kawunda is lost ! Just let me go for a walk round ! Thereupon off Chipimpi went for a walk. Whilst Chipimpi was thus walking, he came upon a spot where a bush-pig had deposited dung and sorghum millet. And Chipimpi said : Where has this sorghum come from ? for at home the sorghum has rotted, all the foodstuffs have rotted.

Then he went following it up ; yonder he came upon a garden-clearing. Chipimpi was amazed, and said : Whoever felled timber here for this clearing ? And so on went Chipimpi. Now when he reached the house, Kawunda too came out.

Chipimpi, when he saw Kawunda, was amazed, and said : But I thought that Kawunda was dead. And all the time, my son, you are living ! His son assented, saying : I am here, Father. And he shewed him to a house. Then when morning dawned, he said : Good-bye, my son, I am off to tell the villagers, saying : Here is Kawunda here and his sister !

Then sure enough he arose, and off went Chipimpi. And he reached the village, the (people) said : Greeting, O Chief ! He said : Greeting, I have found both my children ! And all the people were glad, saying : It is well ! for the son of the chief has come to light.

When he had slept there several days, Chipimpi said : Just let me return to visit my children. Then indeed he arose, and off went Chipimpi : and he certainly reached Kawunda.

Pa kwēwa ati ḫā fika' fyo kuli Kāwunda, ḫā sangane ḫā li ne mbwa sīwili isyakuti ūwukulu. Ḫacipimpi ne ku lāwila ati: We mwana, u mpele-po imbwa imo, pakuti imbwe'si syèlélwe. Kāwunda ne ku ḫula-po imo, ne ku ḫā pela: ne ku lāwila ati: Tata, imbwe'si mūkoka limo, te ku koka līwili, koku! Ḫawisi ne ku lāwila ati: Na umfwa, we mwana wanji. Ne ku kulika, lomba ḫā lu kú ya.

Pa kwēwa ati ḫā lu kú ya mu nsila, na ku musi ka ḫā fika, ne ku lāwila ati: Imbwe'si? syā fumu kuli Kāwunda, mūkoka limo! Mwense, mwe ḫániķe, mwe mwa ku lu kwensya, te ku koka līwili koku! Insiku syonse uku koka limo!

ጀā lile kambi kasūwa ne k̄wipaye'nama: ka ḫekasya ka wa leta. Kāwili ka ḫā ya-mo, kāwili ka ḫā leta. Popele kambi kasūwa ka ḫā ya-mo, ka ḫā koka līwili, imbwe'yo ne kwililila, uku bwela yeyi. Ati: Imbwa yakwe Kāwunda yá ya lelo, uku bwela yeyi!

Lomba ne kú ya Ḫacipimpi kuli Kāwunda mu ku mu ḫula. Popele Kāwunda a li fitilwe, ati: Pakuti mwe ḫatata mwēwō, ka njipayo'muntu kuli Ḫamwinsyo wenu, na nēwō ka ḫā fwayo'ku njipaya: kāwili ka njisa penu, kāwili na mwēwō ka mu fwayo'ku njipaya, popele na li fumine ukwisa kuno. Kāwili na mwēwō ne ku lu ku nonda!. Pano na mwēwō, mwe ḫatata ndu ku mwipayeni! Popele cine a`li imine ne kwipaye'mfumu ya ealo.

Ati: Ḫulen i mfumu, mu ka i sike! Ka ḫema ati tu bwelele ku musi, ḫā sangane imfumu i likele ku ḫanda. Ati: Yoceni imfumu iyi! Ati into tu yoce, pa ku bwelela ku musi, ḫā sangane umutwi u likele. Ati: U ḫikeni mu mulenda pano, lameni mu mulenda! ḫā sangane icine e-mwa li. Ḫonse ḫā li lāwile ati: E fi a lu ku fwaye-fi Cipimpi umwine ta lu ku fwayo'ku sikwa ta lu ku fwayo'kocwa, a lu ku fwayo'kwikala mu mulendo'mwine.

Kambi kasūwa na Ḫakāwunda ne kú fwa. Ati: Amata akwe Kāwunda twaleni muli Cipimpi mopele. Pa kwēwa ati aŵániķe aŵa syele-po ne ku fitwa, ati: Umwana wa mfumu epaye'mfumu! Pano twendeni fwense tu ka lipaye! Tu ḫone-po ifya ku syala-po. Aŵene ḫā syalé ūwufumu ḫú ḫe bwaŵo!

ጀā li imine ḫonse lomba ci lu kú ya. Pa kwēwa ati ḫā fika ku kasiŵa ka ḫena-Mofya, ḫonse ne kwikala uku lu kwenga mafuta a mbono, ne kulongela ka ḫā longela mu misasi, ne ku longela na mu t̄tundu. ḫā li imine ati: Twendeni pano, twinjile, tu lu kú ya!

When he had thus reached Kawunda, he found him with two tremendous dogs. Chipimpi said : Son, give me one dog, because these dogs are fine. So Kawunda took one, and gave it him, and said Father, these dogs are a "single call,"⁶ don't set them on by calling twice ! His father said : I hear, my son. And he put it on a leash, and off he went.

After going along the path, he reached the village, and said : This fine dog has come from Kawunda, it is a single "call" ! All of you, you youngsters who will hunt with it, don't set it on by calling twice ! Always by a single call !

They went one day and killed animals ; they netted them and brought them. Again they went hunting, and again they brought. Then one day they went hunting, and they set it on by calling twice, that dog went right away, and did not return. They said : Kawunda's dog has gone to-day and has not come back !

Thereupon Chipimpi went to Kawunda to tell him. And Kawunda was angry, and said : For, O my father, I killed a man at your uncle's place, and as for me he wanted to kill me ; and then I came to your place, and then you wanted to kill me, so I left to come here. And now you are following me ! So now you too, my father, I am going to kill you ! So sure enough he arose and slew the king of the land !⁸

He said : Take up the chief and bury him ! They arose in order to return to the village, and they found the chief sitting outside his house. He said : Burn this chief ! When they thought that they had burnt him, on returning to the village, they found the head resting there. He said : Place it in a shrine¹⁰ now, preserve it in the shrine ! And sure enough they found it remain therein. They all said : This is what Chipimpi himself wants, he does not want to be burnt, he himself wants to stay in a shrine !

One day Kawunda too died. They said : Take the weapons of Kawunda into the very shrine of Chipimpi. Now those younger brethren (of Chipimpi) who remained were wroth, and said : 'Tis the child of the chief who kills the chief.¹¹ Now come let us all kill ourselves ! Let us see what will remain. They can remain themselves, and the kingdom can be theirs.

They all arose, and off they went. Now when they arrived at the Lake of the Mofya Clan,¹² they all sat down and began to extract oil from castor-oil¹³ beans, and they collected it into calabash bowls, and into baskets. They then arose saying : Come now, let us go in. we must be going !

Umwinango ne ku pela pa numa, wonse umwando umo lukoso: Wonse ne ku li kulaikila pa luwunda. Lomba wa lu kwinjila. Pa kwewa ati wonse ca silo' kwinjila, ne ku wule'ciwesi uyo mwinango. ne ku putula-ko umukasi wakwe, ne ku mu posa ku mutunta. Umukasi wakwe ka wulumo 'ku lila; umulume wakwe lomba wa lu ku mu twala ku musi. Popele fyopelé fyo awenambusi uwufumu wa li wa pokele ku wana waŵo.

Lomba pa kwewa ati ni waŵo aŵa syele-po aŵana wakwe Cipimpi, awenamisisi, neku laŵila ati: Mba wawisifwe, tu wa ūike syani? Wambi ne ku laŵila ati: Ka saleni icisompo, mwe wame, tu lu ku wa ūika-mo wawisifwe! Popele icine wa lile-ko, ka wa salo' lupafu, ne ku wa ūika-mo Wacipimpi, wa sangane ulucelo ati kale ca kwamuka. Popele ne ku laŵila umbi ati: Watata inguwô kale ya fwa! Ka mu ya mu ka sale na imbi, wa ka lu kwikala-mo Watata! Cine wa lile ne ku sala na cimbi, ne ku ūika-mo. Lomba ne nsiku sya wukumo wa lu ku sala ne nguŵo, ne ku lu ku mu pela fyopelé fyo.

Iceŵo ica woneka icikatesye ka wa ya-ko mu ku laŵila kuli Cipimpi, ati: Mu tofwe-ko, mwe Wacipimpi, fweŵo munomo mu musi nwa fike' fyakukatasya! Lomba na wo ne ku wofwa-ko icine.

NOTES.

¹ Lyulu (Heaven) and Lesa (God) are the terms used by the Lambas to denote the Creator or Heavenly King.

² The King or Paramount Chief Chipimpi was a *mwina-mbusi*, or member of the goat-clan, which was ousted by the *wena-misisi*.

³ And thus became a *mwina-misisi*, or member of the clan of the "hair of the human head."

⁴ In order to burn when dry, that the ash might fertilise the soil.

⁵ Kawunda let her hair grow long and bushy; she then made a hollow space in the midst of it, as large as a cooking-pot, closing up the hair above, so that the opening was no longer visible. Then as she went with Chipimpi and the others into the gardens to plant, she would sow one seed and cast the next into the hollow of her top-knot, thus by degrees filling it with seeds. These she took by stealth to her children. Kawunda herself remained at Chipimpi's village, as she had become his wife.

⁶ There is a similar account of how the dogs, on running away into the bush became the first lions, in the Lamba "Story of a Single Cail"—*Icisinikisyo ica mukoka limo*.

⁷ Plural of respect. Literally—"these dogs," but it may be translated as "this fine dog."

⁸ By the murder of Chipimpi, his step-father, Kawunda who was a *mwina-misisi* (of the hair-clan) usurped the kingdom of the Goat clan, and was acknowledged as chief by those of Chipimpi's followers, who were not his clan relatives.

⁹ i.e., the skull.

A member of the leopard clan was the last of the line, all were on one rope : they had all tied themselves by the waist. And they began to enter¹⁴. When they had all finished entering, that leopard clansman took a knife, and severed the rope from his wife, and cast her on to the dry bank. His wife screamed hysterically ; her husband however took her to the village.¹⁵ So in that way the kingdom was taken from the goat-clan by their children.¹⁶

Now to return to those who remained, the children of Chipimpi, of the hair-clan, they said : What about our father, how are we to bury him ? Some of them said : Go and beat out some bark-cloth, mates, and let us put our father in it ! Then sure enough they went and beat out a bark-bag and put Chipimpi into it, and lo ! they found in the morning that it had already split. Then one said : Father's calico is already perished ! You must go and beat out another piece, that Father may stay in it ! So indeed they went and beat out another piece. And even in the present days they continually beat out cloth, and give it to him in the same way.¹⁷

When trouble appears, they go to say to Chipimpi, saying : Help us, O Chipimpi, here in this village we are visited by trouble ! And then he truly helps them.

¹⁰ A miniature thatched hut erected in honour of the spirits of the departed, wherein the relics of the chiefs are kept.

¹¹ Kawunda at his death is honoured as a chief, and the goat-clansmen, clan-relations of the murdered Chipimpi, in their pride refuse to be ruled by members of the human-hair clan, established by Kawunda. They prefer death to humiliation, and so commit suicide.

¹² The Kashiwa-ka-wenamofya is a beautiful rectangular volcanic lake, situated about 50 miles west of Kashitu Railway Station. With it is associated a vast amount of superstition. *Mofya* is another name for the *mbusi* clan.

¹³ Castor-oil plants are to this day found growing around the lake.

¹⁴ Another account of this episode states that they took all their goods and chattels, fowls, dogs, etc., into the lake with them. They are now believed to live in a village beneath the waters of the lake.

¹⁵ And she became the mother of the present goat-clan.

¹⁶ Kawunda was the step-son of Chipimpi, and so all the members of the hair-clan are looked upon as children of the goat-clan. Matrilineal descent obtains among the Lambas.

¹⁷ Chipimpi's head (or skull) is greatly reverenced by the Lambas to-day, and is looked upon as the oracle of the tribe. If some evil is committed the head is said to become annoyed, leave the shrine and go bounding away into the bush! The regular keeper of the shrine (*umwina-mulenda*) then follows it out into the bush and calls for it, whereupon it will appear seated on a stump. On being assured that the evil will be dealt with, and on being presented with gifts, the head will consent to return to its shrine. I refrain from mentioning the name of the village where Chipimpi's shrine is located, as the matter is kept a secret, and I promised my informant not to divulge it.

SOME PROBLEMS OF BANTU SOCIOLOGY.

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In Africa, more perhaps than in any other part of the world, social anthropology is a subject not of merely scientific or academic interest, but of immense practical importance. The one great problem on which the future welfare of South Africa depends is that of finding some social and political system in which the natives and the whites may live together without conflict; and the successful solution of that problem would certainly seem to require a thorough knowledge of the native civilisation between which and our own we need to establish some sort of harmonious relation. Every day the customs of the native tribes are being altered, by the action of the legislature and the administration, by the action of our economic system, through the teachings of missionaries and educators, and through contact with ourselves in innumerable ways ; but we have hardly the vaguest ideas as to what will be the final results of these changes, upon the natives and upon ourselves. There seem to be some who optimistically trust to the action of the natural laws that regulate the social development of man ; but the forces of history sometimes lead to progress, sometimes to disaster. And it does, at any rate, seem certain that if certain existing tendencies are permitted to go unchecked occasions of conflict such as the Zulu rebellion, Bulhoek and Bondelzwarts will become increasingly frequent.

In the establishment of the department of social anthropology in the University of Capetown this practical importance of the subject has been kept constantly in view, and the teaching and research are being organised on this basis. But this does not mean that the social anthropologist is to concern himself with the actual problems that face the administrator and the legislator at the present time. The scientist must always keep himself free from concern with the practical applications of the laws that it is his business to discover, leaving that to others specially qualified for such work and devoting their whole energies to it. And this is particularly important in such a science as social anthropology, where the elimination of personal

prejudice and bias is already so difficult, and would be impossible if we did not rigorously exclude from our theoretical researches all immediate practical considerations. It is only too easy to find in the facts of social history evidence, plausible enough, for our pet political theories.

But within the purely theoretical science of social anthropology itself there are different kinds of problems, and different methods of approaching the facts, and we may very justifiably permit the consideration of the final practical value of the results obtainable to influence us in the choice of those parts of the immense field to which to pay most attention.

In dealing with the facts of culture or civilisation amongst primitive peoples who have no historical records there are two methods of explanation that we may adopt. The first may be called the ethnological method ; it attempts, by the co-ordinated study of physical characters, language, and the various elements of culture, and with the help of such archaeological knowledge as is available, to reconstruct hypothetically the past history of a people in its main outlines. Such problems are very interesting, and seem to possess for many persons a peculiar fascination which has sometimes been to the detriment of the science ; for it has attracted the dilettante and the speculator, and has given rise to a literature of which a large part is of little or no scientific value, owing to the utter disregard of the laws of scientific evidence and the need for the verification of hypotheses. But interesting as it is, and important as its results may sometimes be, this ethnological method does not often provide, and does not seem likely to provide, results that will be of any assistance to the administrator or the educator in the solution of the practical problems with which he is faced. The knowledge that a large element of the culture of Madagascar is derived from the Malay Archipelago may indeed afford us most valuable clues in any attempt to understand the meaning of the custom and institutions of the Malagasy. But a theory that the Bantu peoples had their origin in a mixture of Sudanese negroes and Hamitic people somewhere in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, even if substantiated, would give little help to the missionary who is wondering what will be the effect on the moral life of a Bantu people of an attempt to get rid of the custom of lobola.

A second method of dealing with the culture of a primitive people may conveniently be called the sociological, so long as we recognise that sociology cannot be independent of psychology. The aim of this method is not to reconstruct the history of a people but to interpret

their institutions in the light of general laws of sociology and psychology. If, for example, we investigate by this method the custom of lobola, we seek to determine the function of that custom, what essential or important relations it has with other institutions, what part it really plays in the economic, moral and religious life of the tribe, and to what important needs of the social organism it is related. Such an investigation thoroughly carried out would enable the anthropologist to foretell with some degree of certainty what would be the general effects on the life of a tribe of an attempt to abolish the custom in question.

Thus the study of such problems, the sociological and psychological problems of native life, is certainly far more likely to lead to results of practical value to South Africa than the study of ethnological problems. There is another very definite advantage of the method, that its hypotheses are very largely capable of verification in the field, which those of the ethnological method are not; and it may even be possible in some few instances to apply the experimental method, by noting the changes that take place in the social life of the natives as the results of the influence of Western civilisation upon them. But the method requires from those who undertake it a number of important qualifications, which the dilettante who indulges freely in ethnological speculations is not generally prepared to acquire. It requires a sympathetic understanding of the natives without which it is not possible to get to understand their ways of thought, so different in many respects from our own: and it requires a thorough knowledge of the work that has been done in psychology and sociology during the last twenty years, a knowledge not to be acquired by reading a few text-books, but only by the labour of months or even years.

To illustrate the sort of sociological problems that are here referred to it will be sufficient to select from the immense field one small but important group. Thanks to the work of Morgan, and in recent times that of the late Dr Rivers, it has come to be recognised that amongst what we call the uncivilised peoples, the basis on which rests the whole social system (including its moral, juridical, economic and religious institutions), is the system of relationship: and that it is impossible to begin to discuss the meaning and function of the customs and institutions of a people until we have a thorough knowledge of their system of relationship. For amongst them it is the system of relationship that regulates their lives in all details. Indeed, we may agree with Morgan that the passage from lower forms of

civilisation to higher forms such as our own was essentially a passage from society based on kinship to the state based on political organisation.

The Bantu Tribes probably all have what is called a classificatory system of relationship, such as is found in different forms in the vast majority of uncivilised peoples all over America, Australia, India and Africa. In such systems there is no special term for such a relative as a father or a mother, but relatives in the direct and the collateral lines are classified together, and one term is applied to the father's brother as to the father. The matter may be conveniently illustrated by a brief description of the relationship system of the Zulu which was the first and for many years the only system recorded from South Africa.

I call my grandparents, male and female, Ubaba kulu (great father) and Umama kulu (great mother), classifying together these under these terms the grandparents on both sides and their brothers and sisters, my grand uncles and great aunts.

I apply the term Ubaba (father) to my father and to his brothers, to the husbands of my mother's sisters, and to the sons of my father's father's brothers. Similarly, I apply the term Umama to my mother and her sisters and to the wives of my father's brothers, and to the daughters of my mother's mother's sister.

I call my father's sister Ubaba (father) and her husband is also Ubaba.

I call my mother's brother Umaluma and his wife is also Umaluma.

The children of my father, of my father's brothers and my mother's sisters, and in fact of all those I call Ubaba and Umama are my brothers, Umfo watu, and sisters, Udada watu. I distinguish my senior brother, Umna, from my junior brother, Umnawa, but I do not distinguish amongst sisters in the same way. Amongst my senior brothers are my own elder brothers and all the sons of my father's elder brother, even if they are younger than myself.

The children of my father's brother are my cousins, Umzala wame.*

My own children are my son, Indodana, and my daughter, Indodakaze, and so are all the children of all those whom I call brother or sister and all those whom I call cousin (Umzala).

The children of any Indodana or Indodakaze, including my own grandchildren are Umetshana yame.

A man calls his wife Umkame or Umfaze. His brother's wife is also Umkame, but a wife's sister is Umlamu. A sister's husband is Umkwamyana, but a wife's brother is Umlamu.

A woman calls her husband Umyana, and her husband's brother and sister are also Umyana. Her sister's husband is Umkwamyana.

My wife's father and mother are my Umkwa and Umkwakaze, and her grandparents are my grandparents, Ubaba kulu and Umama kulu.

The wife of any person I call son (Indodana) is my daughter-in-law, Uana, and the husband of any one I call daughter (Indodakaze) is my son-in-law, Umkwamyana, with the exception that the sister's son's wife of a man and the brother's son's wife of a woman are Umalokazana.

If the Zulu system is compared in detail with the systems of other Bantu tribes a number of remarkable and interesting differences will be noticed. It is not possible to call attention to all or even to many of these in a brief note, nor to deal with any single point thoroughly. It must suffice for the present to indicate a few of the problems connected with the position of the father's sister and the mother's brother and their children.

In many parts of the world there exists an institution known as cross-cousin marriage, by which a man marries the daughter of his father's sister or of his mother's brother in preference to any other woman. The meaning of this institution is one of the interesting problems of this part of social anthropology, and considerable help might be given to its solution by a careful study of the Bantu tribes in which it does or does not occur. A preference for the mating of cross-cousins is found amongst the OvaHerero³ and the WaYao.⁴ There are other tribes in which such marriages are permitted, and are probably preferred though our information is not sufficient to determine the latter point, amongst them the WaNyanja⁵ and other tribes of Nyasaland, perhaps even including the Angoni of direct Zulu descent. Amongst the WaHenga⁶ a man is regarded as having a prior right to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but latterly, possibly owing to the influence of neighbouring tribes, the WaHenga tend to prefer to marry the offspring of the more distantly related "sisters" of the father, or "brothers" of the mother, rather than the daughters of the father's uterine sister or of the

mother's uterine brother. There are other Bantu tribes in which cross-cousin marriage is prohibited. Thus amongst the Baganda⁷ a man calls the daughter of his father's sister or daughter of his mother's brother Kizibwebwe, and not only may he not marry such a relative but he may have no communication with her whatever. Amongst the Wanganonde⁸ of the north of Lake Nyassa a man regards his cross-cousin as "brothers" and "sisters" and may not marry one of them. Amongst the Balla⁹ a man calls his cross-cousins, the sons and daughters of his mother's brother and of his father's sister by the same term of relationship that he uses for his wife's brother and for his wife and other women whom he may marry. But at the present day, while a man may marry his father's sister's daughter, he may not marry his mother's brother's daughter.

Returning for a moment to the Zulu, I have not found any definite information about the marriage of cross-cousins. If Morgan's information was correct the terms for these cousins are very anomalous, for while I call the son of my mother's brother Umzala he will call me "brother." Such an anomaly suggests that either the information is not correct or that the relationship system of the tribe is undergoing a process of change, or was so when the terms were collected.

Wherever the cross-cousin marriage exists there is always at least the possibility that the mother's brother and the father's sister may become the father and mother-in-law, and it is well known what great importance is attached in Bantu tribes to proper behaviour towards the parents-in-law.

Where descent is in the male line a man belongs to the clan or sib of his father, but where descent is in the female line he belongs to that of his mother, and, therefore, of his mother's brother. Where inheritance is in the female line a man's property passes to his sister's son, not to his own son. Where succession is in the female line it is similarly the sister's son of a chief who succeeds to the chieftainship. In the south-eastern part of the Continent descent, inheritance and succession are all in the male line, but there is a considerable area of Central Africa, including a large part of Northern Rhodesia, in which descent and sometimes succession and inheritance are in the female line. It is clear that we may expect the relation between the mother's brother and his sister's son to be very different in the latter tribes from what it is in the former.

In some Bantu tribes, there is a custom by which a sister's son may inherit one of the wives of his mother's brother after the latter's

death. This custom is found amongst the BaThonga (Shangaan),¹⁰ the WaNgonde,¹¹ and the Balla,¹² and will probably be found to be more widespread when we have fuller information. In the first two of these tribes this custom has affected the terms of relationship. Thus amongst the WaNgonde and the BaThonga I call the wife of my mother's brother by the same term that I apply to my wife and to the women I may marry, and in the latter tribe I may speak of my mother's brother's son as my "son." The custom of inheriting the mother's brother's wife would seem to conflict with the custom of cross-cousin marriage, and they are not, so far as we know, found together, except in the Balla and in that tribe a man may not marry his mother's brother's daughter, though a woman may marry her mother's brother's son. A very plausible explanation of this would be that the Balla formerly had the cross-cousin marriage in its normal form, and that at a comparatively recent date the custom of the uiheritance the mother's brother's wife has been introduced and is in process of ousting the cross-cousin marriage. We should then have to look for the causes that have produced the custom of inheriting the mother's brother's wife. It might seem that this was merely part of the general system by which a man belongs to his mother's clan and inherits the property and succeeds to the rank of his mother's brother, but we should then have to explain how it comes about that it is found in the BaThonga tribe, where descent, inheritance and succession are all in the male line.

In many primitive tribes in different parts of the world there is a custom whereby the sister's son is allowed very wide liberties and privileges in his dealings with his mother's brother. This custom, when it is found amongst people with descent in the male line is sometimes explained as a survival from a previous condition of female descent. But the explanation is not quite satisfactory : even if it should prove to be true, it is at any rate not complete. Moreover, this custom is frequently associated with another whereby a man is required to pay very great respect to his father's sister and obey all her wishes. The two associated customs are found for example in some parts of Oceania, as Fiji and Tonga. In Africa the two customs have been found in association amongst the BaThonga.¹³ In that tribe the sister's son may enter the hut of his mother's brother and eat up the food that has been prepared for him, and may in other ways treat his uncle with great liberty and even disrespect, without being liable to any complaint or reproach from the uncle, who is expected to treat him with the greatest indulgence.

With the exceedingly scanty knowledge that we have about the Bantu tribes it would be neither wise nor useful to indulge in theories as to the meaning of these customs, and the purpose of this note is merely to call attention to an interesting field for research. It seems probable that there are important connections or interactions to be discovered between the customs that have been indicated, namely, descent, inheritance and succession in the female line ; the cross-cousin marriage ; the inheritance of the wife of the mother's brother and the respect demanded by the father's sister. A careful study of these customs over a wide field would probably give us important results of value towards understanding the sociology of the Bantu. In the first place it would very likely give us important indications as to the changes in social structure that are or have been taking place amongst the Bantu, and may even set us on the road to discovering the causes of those changes. In the second place it will help us towards an understanding of the meaning and social function of the customs themselves, and so to a better knowledge of the laws of human society in general, by affording the means of a comparison of the Bantu with other peoples of the world. A very interesting feature of the systems of relationship of the Bantu is that they afford a number of points of resemblance with the systems of Oceania. Long ago Morgan noted the resemblance of the Zulu system to that of Hawaii, on which he based a great part of his theory of the development of human society. Further knowledge, accumulated since Morgan's time, has shown that there are many other features in the social systems of Oceania to which parallels can be found amongst the Bantu, and it is to be hoped that further study will give us the clue to the explanation of these resemblances.

In conclusion it may be worth while to give some indications as to the method by which customs such as these should be studied amongst the Natives themselves. The old haphazard method of asking questions of any accessible native and writing down (or even worse trusting to memory to retain) what he says, is utterly inadequate. The first step in the study of a system of relationship is to select a number of reliable informants, testing their reliability by an approved method, and then collect from them in the form of tables, the fullest possible genealogical information about themselves and their relatives, checking the statements of another.¹⁴ The next step is to collect all the terms that are used in denoting relatives, and collect the exact application of each term by reference to the actual relationship contained in the genealogies. The third step is to discover the rights

and duties that regulate the behaviour to one another of relatives of different kinds. To some extent it will be necessary here to proceed by the method of question and answer, but a statement by a native, however reliable, should always be confirmed in some way, if only by the independent statement of another, and no general statement should ever be accepted unless it is backed up by a number of concrete particular instances. Questioning must be supplemented by actual observation. Once the relationships existing between the natives are known, as the result of the collection of genealogies, it is easy to observe and note their behaviour to one another, both in ordinary daily life, and in the conduct of ceremonies, such as those at a funeral or a marriage ; and such concrete instances carefully collected and correlated will give a sound basis for the formulation of general statements, which without such a basis, are of little scientific value.

NOTES.

- ¹ The system of the Zulu was recorded in 1861 by the Rev. Andrew Abraham, Mapumulo, Natal, and published in Morgan's Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, Smithsonian Institution, 1871. I have retained Morgan's spelling.
- ² According to Bryant, Zulu Dictionary, p. 720, umzala is applied to the children of both father's sister and mother's brother.
- ³ Dannert, Zum Rechte der Herero, p. 33.
- ⁴ Sanderson, in Journal Roy. Anthr. Inst., Vol. L., 1920, p. 370.
- ⁵ Rattray, Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja.
- ⁶ MS. notes of Dr. Meredith Sanderson.
- ⁷ Roscoe, The Baganda, pp. 129, 131.
- ⁸ MS. notes of Dr. Meredith Sanderson.
- ⁹ Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, Vol. I., p. 391.
- ¹⁰ Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, Vol. I., p. 228.
- ¹¹ MS. notes of Dr. Meredith Sanderson.
- ¹² Smith and Dale, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 391.
- ¹³ Junod, op. cit., Vol. I., pp. 223, 227.
- ¹⁴ Rivers, The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Enquiry, Sociological Review, January, 1910. Every student of social anthropology should be thoroughly acquainted with the method developed by the late Dr. Rivers (by whose early death the science has suffered such a heavy loss) and explained by him in this and other papers, and illustrated very fully in his work on the Todas.

VARIA

Professor Alice Werner, of the School of Oriental Studies, London, has favoured us with the following brief note, which we hope will elicit some discussion by our readers :—

On page 36 of his new volume ('Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages,') Sir Harry Johnston calls attention to the 'intensive η ' (\bar{n} in his notation, \bar{n} in Meinhof's) of the Caga language. This first mentioned in Raum's Grammatik der Dschagga-Sprache (1909), p. 165, seems not to have a parallel in any Bantu hitherto recorded, and Professor Meinhof seems unable to throw any light on it at present. The peculiarity of this infix is that it seems to be inserted between the (otherwise inseparable) syllables of the stem, e.g., aluo, 'he is ill,' aluro, 'he is very ill.' Raum refers to an "intensive n " in Hebrew, and perhaps this appears (though I understand it has been disputed) in the Ethiopic *Menelek* 'king of kings,' from *Melek*. I should be glad of any information as to a similar or analogous infix in any Bantu language. Sir H.H. Johnston says it is 'not, I think, met with' outside the Caga dialects."

* * *

Mr C. R. Wolhuter, in a recent letter, addressed to Professor W. A. Norton, gives some interesting facts regarding the Bushmen living along the lower reaches of the Orange River. Some of their superstitions seem bound up with the state of the river, its dryness or its state of flood. It is believed that certain of these people take advantage of the rising flood to place their old and decrepit folk on islands likely to become submerged. Bushmen bodies have been found downstream lashed to logs of wood, and it is thought by some that this is a method of burial.

Among interesting superstitions is the following: If Bushmen find the nest of an ostrich, in which one of the eggs is in a vertical position, they will not touch it, even though they be starving. Should they, however, have a dog with them, they will play with the dog, allowing him to scamper amongst the eggs; and should he then knock the egg into its normal position, they will remove the other eggs for their use, the one offending egg being buried in such a way that they do not touch it with their hands.

The customs of these people, as those of the Namaqua and the Damara, need to be carefully and scientifically investigated, before our opportunities to note their habits and beliefs are gone for ever. We trust that Mr Wolhuter will collect more material along this line, and endeavour to secure the natives' own explanations of their customs as far as possible.

* * *

The following letter has been received from the Assistant Commissioner at Quthing, Basutoland :—

“ Assistant Commissioner’s Office,

Quthing Basutoland, 24/6/22.

“ Sir,—I should be glad to know if you have any information on the subject of a native disease known as ‘ Setsoa ’ among the Basuto, or its cure.

“ It was brought to my notice through one of my servant girls complaining of pain in her arm, which, on examination, proved to be in a bad state, having a festering sore on it, and she was at once sent to the Government Hospital for medical treatment. My interpreter, on hearing about it, informed me that it was probably ‘ Setsoa,’ and explained that it could only be cured by an uncle, for the following reason: When a marriage takes place by cattle the brother of the bride receives a portion of the dowry, generally two head, which proportion is known as the ‘ litsoa,’ but should his sister be married by Christian rites and no dowry be paid, her brother receives nothing, and his heart is sore, and this affects the children of the marriage and his nephews and nieces are liable to suffer from ‘ Setsoa.’

My interpreter, who is an educated Christian Mosuto, informs me that no doctor has ever been known to effect a permanent cure, but may sometimes give temporary relief, but if the uncle of the patient can be persuaded to spit on a piece of fat and anoint the affected part, it will be permanently cured within twenty-four hours, and he quotes instances and people who have been so cured.

“ It is a new custom to me, and as my interpreter is a firm believer in this cure, which he says is well known among the Basuto, I think it worth while to inquire from you and to ask if any of your correspondents can confirm the information as given by my interpreter.

“ Dieterlen’s Sesuto English Dictionary mentions, ‘ Setsoa ’ and states that it means a running sore which is incurable.

“ I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

J. H. SIMS,

“ Assistant Commissioner.

“ The Editor, ‘ Bantu Studies,’

“ P. O. Box 854, Johannesburg.”

* * *

PROPOSED ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA

It is proposed to form in South Africa a society, of similar character to the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, for the promotion and encouragement of anthropological studies, including all studies relating to the physical and mental characters of the various races and peoples of South Africa, their languages, sociology, religions, customs, beliefs, languages and folk-lore, and also the archaeology of South Africa. If the suggestion meets with a sufficient response, the Institute will publish a journal, and it is thought that it may be possible to enlarge *Bantu Studies* for this purpose. Meetings of members for the reading and discussion of papers will be held at

centres where there are a sufficient number. Anyone who desires to become a Fellow of the Institute, or who seeks fuller information, should write to Professor A. Radcliffe Brown, University of Capetown.

* * *

VACATION COURSE IN AFRICAN LIFE AND LANGUAGES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

In the event of a sufficient enrolment of students the University of Capetown will provide a special vacation course of lectures in African Life and Languages. The course will last for six weeks in January and February, the exact dates being not fixed yet. There will be courses of lectures on the general principles of social anthropology, on the social system of the Bantu and on methods of observation in the study of native custom and belief by Professor Radcliffe Brown, on Bantu philology and the history of native tribes of South Africa by Professor Norton, and on problems of native education and native law and administration by Dr Loram, the total number of lectures being about seventy. The course is specially designed for missionaries and native commissioners, but should be of value to all who are interested either in the scientific study of the natives or in practical administrative problems relating to them. Anyone wishing to obtain information about the proposed course should apply to the Registrar, University of Capetown.

BOOK NOTICE

The Musical Accent or Intonation in the Kongo Language

By K. E. Laman, D. D. Stockholm :

Svenska Missionförbundets Förlag. Preface and 153 pp.

The author of this book has been working for many years among the Fioti, near the mouth of the Congo ; he is the principal translator of the Bible into Fioti, and has written a grammar of the language. The work we have before us is a valuable contribution to the scientific study of the Bantu languages. His knowledge of Swedish and its intonation has put the author on the track of intonation in this branch of the Kongo language ; hitherto the subject has been untouched in any works dealing with Kongo.

In his introduction, the author touches on the importance of a knowledge of the intonation in speaking the language. He writes : "The pitch is of very great importance in the Kongo language, as every syllable has a special pitch relatively to the other syllables, and if a syllable is pronounced in a wrong pitch it generally changes the word into an entirely different word."

For the Fioti language, three main gradations of pitch are marked, viz., high, middle and low. Each of these is sub-divided into two, making six gradations, three of which are marked above the vowels or syllabic nasals to indicate a pitch above a medium, and three below (the same three symbols being employed) to denote a pitch below the medium. The method employed in this work for marking tone is quite as useful a one as any we have seen. Intonation in words he describes as level, falling, or rising, according to the sequence of pitches. "Tone of voice" is taken into consideration, and speech may be in a high or low key, but the important factor is the relative heights of the pitch within that key. It is interesting to read that in Fioti "*a high key* expresses a more rapid movement, a higher sound, more intensity, and so on. It also denotes a long distance, a question in calls, an address, names, the principal word, the genitive, the possessive, the preposition, and the preterit, etc.," whilst a *low key* expresses a slow movement, a lower sound, a sweet sensation, strong colours, and so on. It also denotes nearness, greatness, command, the future in contrary to the preterit, and is also used in whispering, etc."

The author recognises the existence of the *tonème*, when dealing with what he terms "influenced pitch"—"the change of pitch that may arise owing to inflection, derivation or position in the sentence." He further points out that it is difficult to separate tone and stress, also tone and length.

In dealing with each separate type of tone, the author gives very copious examples, as well as musical transcriptions carried out by Dr W. Heinitz; all of which show a marvellous amount of painstaking work. The way in which the root tone of verbs differs from that of nouns, and the differences that exist between mono-, di-, and tri-syllabic words, are all clearly and graphically shown. The pitch on locatives, genitives, verb suffixes, and various verb tenses is illustrated. In § 13, we note that the past and future tenses of verbs are distinguished by tone alone; in § 40 a few pairs of words of different meanings differentiated only by tone, are given.

We feel that the author might have made much more of this vital part of the study of tone—that which distinguishes words, tenses, etc., otherwise identical in sound. Yet the book is unique of its kind: the existence of tone as a factor in Bantu has hitherto been recognised in three only of the host of Bantu languages. We recommend this book to any who are desirous of studying the phonetics of a Bantu language.

C. M. Doke.

